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- ART. VI.—1. *A Tale of Paraguay.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D.
2. *The Reign of Dr. Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia in Paraguay.* By MESSRS. RENGGER and LONGCHAMPS. London. 1827. 8vo. pp. 208.
3. *Paraguay, and the Alliance against the Tyrant Francisco Solano Lopez.* Pamphlet. 12mo. pp. 40. New York. 1869.
4. *Correspondencia Diplomatica entre el Gobierno del Paraguay y la Legacion de los Estados Unidos de America, etc., etc.* Pamphlet. 4to. pp. 17. Buenos Ayres.
5. *Executive Documents, United States Senate. Doc. No. 5, Parts 1, 2, 3. Message of the President, communicating Information in Relation to Recent Transactions in the Region of the La Plata.* pp. 118, 150, and 38.
- Executive Documents, United States House of Representatives, No. 79. Letter from the Secretary of the Navy, in Answer to a Resolution of the House, transmitting Correspondence relative to the Paraguay Difficulties.* pp. 95.
- Miscellaneous Documents, United States House of Representatives, No. 8, Pt. 2. Memorial of Porter C. Bliss and George F. Masterman.* pp. 13.
6. *Revue des deux Mondes*; 1865, 1866, 1867.
7. *Papeles del Tirano del Paraguay, tomados por los Aliados en el Asalto de 27 de Diciembre de 1868.* Buenos Ayres. 1869. Pamphlet. 8vo. pp. 140.

WE are told that in the reign of Augustus the temple of Janus was shut, for the whole world was at peace. That universal harmony has not been of frequent recurrence. Even when the earth in general is free from strife, there seldom fails to be some section of it which is still “the seat of war.”

Such, at the present time, is the so-called Republic of Paraguay. Its ruler, the third in a strange succession of despots, charged with many grievous crimes, but sustained by the simple and brave people whom he governs, has defied for years the power of three nations, two of them occupying territories far more extensive and populous than his own. The interest

of the struggle is deepened for us by questions that have arisen, affecting the character and conduct of some of our diplomatic and naval officers, and our national rights and honor. Still, the scene of strife is so distant, and the information possessed with regard to it so imperfect, that few probably have any definite conception of the nature of the quarrel, or of the manner in which our country or its representatives became connected with it.

When, in 1527, Sebastian Cabot, then in the service of Spain, sailed up the Parana and the Paraguay, he found the Indians on their banks decorated with ornaments of silver ; and, ignorant that the metal had been brought across the continent from Upper Peru, he gave to the mighty stream, of which these were branches, the name of River of Silver (*Rio de la Plata*). Interested in his accounts, the Spaniards undertook another expedition. Two thousand in number, we are told, they landed where the city of Buenos Ayres now stands ; thence ascending the Parana, they repeated constantly to the Indians, *Plata, Plata !* and, by the more intelligible language of signs, showed of what deity they sought the shrine. That shrine they did not find ; but they established on the banks of the Paraguay a fort, which became the beginning of the city of Assumption, — the day on which the fort was begun being the 15th of August, the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Years passed ; wars took place between the settlers and the natives, in which the strength of the Indian tribes was completely broken, and a part of them reduced to slavery. Then, among conquerors and destroyers, appeared men whose mission was to save. The Jesuits, that marvellous organization, powerful alike for evil and for good, built for themselves in the wilds of Paraguay a monument of self-sacrificing usefulness, of humble and persevering labor. Combining the zeal of the devotee with the discipline of the soldier, the culture of the scholar with the varied resources of the man of the world, they found in the forests of Central South America a field of noble exertion, and of pure and splendid triumphs. The Indians of both continents have ever been more readily impressed by the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church than by the simple ser-

vices of Protestantism ; but nowhere among them have missionary efforts been so successful as in Paraguay. Here the good Jesuit fathers, secured by royal edicts from all interference on the part of other authorities, whether secular or religious, came among the Indians as protectors. In the settlements which the Spaniards had already made, they denounced the oppression to which the natives were subjected, and protested against that iniquitous slave-trade which was carried on by parties from the frontiers of Brazil, who captured the defenceless Indians in order to sell them to the Portuguese. They obtained at length a concession of the region between the Spanish settlements and Brazil, that they might found in it missions for the reduction of the Indians to civilization.

To carry out this purpose, they built, in each instance, a church, and grouped around it the dwellings of their converts. Among these they established a routine of duties, monastic in its regularity. "All the Missions," says one of our authorities, "presented a uniform aspect. In the centre of the square rose, supported by three roofs, the dome of the church ; to the right was the college, the dwelling of the fathers, and general store-house of the community, with its cloisters, its courts, its gardens, its blooming orchards ; to the left the cemetery, whose crosses were hidden under orange-thickets. The village formed a rectangle, the streets of which crossed each other from north to south and from east to west ; while around extended the grounds set apart to each family, the pastures, and the large farms of the community." The arrangements of the day were guided by the church bell. At dawn it called the whole population to hear mass ; that duty done, they went to their several labors ; each followed the occupation he had chosen, but none was idle, and all alike partook the fruits of the common industry. At noon the bell called them to a two hours' rest, and in the evening again to their devotions.

" In grateful adoration then they raise
The evening hymn. How solemn in the wild
That sweet accordant strain wherewith they praise
The Queen of Angels, merciful and mild :
Hail, holiest Mary ! Maid, and Mother undefiled."

Such are the words of Southey in his "Tale of Paraguay." This tale is one of the simplest of Southey's poems, and its pretty little story, scarcely altered at all from the narrative of the Jesuit Dobrizhoffer, illustrates the gentle, obedient, believing spirit of the Paraguayan Indians, — far different from that of their stern, obtuse, irreclaimable brethren of the northern continent. Among such a people the labors of the missionaries found a rich reward. The desert bloomed around them; and its simple children, if the civilization to which they attained was not of the highest type, were yet orderly, industrious, and happy in this world, and possessed of an undoubting faith in what had been taught them of the world to come.

The settlements were not without enemies. The slave-hunters from Brazil, "border ruffians," not Portuguese alone, but the offscouring of every Christian land, broke up by force the missions nearest them. "The Jesuits of La Guayra fled with their flocks; they descended the Parana on a flotilla of seven hundred *balsas*, — rafts supported on two canoes fastened together. Having arrived at the falls, where the river for twenty-five leagues plunges from one abyss to another, they lost three hundred balsas, and were compelled to open a passage through the virgin forests, through networks of tangled vines, among rocks and precipices, where beds of fern concealed unfathomable fissures into which entire families fell and were seen no more. . . . They labored through the day, singing hymns as they went; and at night, having prepared their shelter on the back of the river, they intoned together the psalm of exile, mingling with the roll of the cataracts and the roar of the tempest in the forest the sacred notes, *Super flumina Babylonis*." *

This was in the earlier period of the enterprise. Later, the fathers taught their converts to use the arms of civilized warfare; and on Sunday, according to Spanish custom, when the pomp of worship had given place to festivity, dances, bull-fights, and games of strength or skill, the soldiers were reviewed by the Jesuit fathers, some of whom probably, like the founder of their order, had been warriors of this world before

* *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1865.

they became champions of the cross. Such was the control in which they held their subjects, that, we are told, a colonel, returning at the head of his regiment from a gallant and difficult achievement, bent himself, at a sign from the priest, to receive the chastisement of blows for some offence, and said, kissing the hand which had struck him, "God bless you, my father, for you have made me perceive my fault!"

Thus, for a century and a half, did the Jesuits govern these grown-up children, making them happy in their childishness, but keeping them children still. Strange, that the downfall of the order should take its origin from the scene of its highest and most honorable success! In 1750, in a new arrangement of boundaries, Spain surrendered seven of the Missions to Portugal; and the fathers and their flocks were most unjustly ordered to abandon their homes. The Indians resisted, and the fathers, rightly or wrongly, were thought to have encouraged them in insubordination. Other changes followed, connected with the political intrigues of Europe. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and France; and, in 1766, Charles III. of Spain decreed their expulsion from his dominions. In Paraguay the decree excited amazement and rage among the Indians, and only the noble conduct of the fathers, who exerted all their influence to pacify those loving subjects from whom they were compelled to part, prevented a civil war. It is a proof of the purity of their administration, that not more than nine thousand dollars were found in their coffers. The state of these once flourishing Missions a few years since is thus sadly described by M. Page in the article from which we have already quoted:—

"Now, in place of those well-cultivated fields, of those millions of cattle, of those villages grouped around the temples whose cupolas and colonnades glittered with gold, is to be seen only a desert covered with briers, wild animals, and scattered ruins: man has fled."

The Missions of the Jesuits, it will be understood from the above statement, were far from comprising the whole population of Paraguay. A portion of them indeed were situated without the present limits of that country, in Corrientes, now one of the states of the Argentine Republic. On the other

hand, the Commanderies of Paraguay — portions of territory distributed to European settlers with control over the Indian inhabitants — had been assigned before the Jesuit plan of instruction and government was adopted. That plan found its place in the eastern portion of the country, bordering on the Parana, while the secular settlements were on the western, around Assumption on the Paraguay. In these settlements the Indians formed the mass of the population, though less completely than in those of the Jesuits; the Spaniards became blended with them, and thus arose a Creole element, destined eventually to possess controlling power. At the present day the population is principally Indian; the Guarani language, described as sweet and sonorous, is far more used than the Spanish; and with most of the men the only garment is the *poncho*, — simply a large cloth, with a hole in the middle to admit the head.

The situation of the country may be compared to that of the region which forms our States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; the main branch of the Parana being represented by the Ohio River, and the Paraguay by the Mississippi above the junction. The territory in extent is about equal to Ohio and Indiana; somewhat larger than the whole of New England, and nearly twice as large as the kingdom of Portugal. Its population has been extravagantly estimated at a million and a half. More probable statements represent it as amounting, before the present war, to about six hundred thousand.

In Paraguay, as in Buenos Ayres, the first steps towards independence were taken in the cause of loyalty. When, in 1808, Charles IV. had abdicated the throne of Spain, and Napoleon attempted to seize it, the messenger sent by the latter with despatches to the Viceroy of the Provinces of La Plata was obliged instantly to re-embark, and rulers and people took the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand VII. Next came the displacement of the Viceroy Liniers by the Junta of Seville, and that of his successor Cisneros by the people of Buenos Ayres. The royal authority, thus set aside in fact, was not long retained in name; and under the guidance of a Junta, consisting entirely of Creoles, the country entered on the stormy career of an immature republic.

Meantime a royal governor, Don Bernardo de Velasco, still ruled in Paraguay; and, with a little more firmness, he might have continued to rule. The Junta of Buenos Ayres sent troops against him, but the people whom he governed obeyed his orders, and marched to meet the invaders. Not, it is said, from want of courage, but from deference to treacherous advisers, Velasco withdrew in secret from the field; but the Paraguayans, though at first thrown into confusion by the defection of their leader, afterwards rallied, and won a battle without him. In revolutionary times, men who commit such errors do not long keep their places. Velasco was soon deposed, and a Junta organized, with three ordinary men as president and assessors, and a great man — Don José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, Doctor of Laws — as secretary.

This able man was restrained by few scruples and found few difficulties in gratifying his ambition. The Paraguayans were mostly as ignorant as children of the meaning of the words "liberty" and "republic"; but one of their officers explained to them that liberty meant faith, hope, and charity; and Francia had, among his few books, Rollin's History of Rome, from which his countrymen were informed that the great republic which had conquered the world was ruled by consuls. Consuls therefore were chosen, — Don Fulgencio Yegros and Francia; but the latter soon discovered in his Roman History a title which pleased him better. It did not need any refined intriguing, to deal with the simple Guarani drovers who formed the Congress of Paraguay, and it was quickly determined that there should be a dictator. Yegros would have been elected, but Francia wearied the voters into compliance with his wishes, by postponing the election from day to day, and at length surrounding their place of meeting with a respectful but formidable guard of honor. So the Consul Yegros was "relieved," as we courteously say in the case of a military commander; and Doctor Francia was chosen Dictator for three years.

He took that office in 1814, and he held it for more than a quarter of a century. Old age did not relax his vigorous grasp: he died in 1840, at eighty-five, still holding the reins of power. He was a stern man, — a ruler of the old school, who knew nothing of governing by love, or of preparing the people

for freedom by giving them a share in their own government. Unyielding alike in his justice and his vindictiveness, he had been known to come forward to defend his personal enemy against oppression, and yet, when the cause was gained, refuse to be reconciled with the man he had served. He had equally refused a reconciliation with his own father, when the old man prayed for it on his dying bed. The only weaknesses that he seemed to have were those of vicious indulgence; but these he had suppressed with iron firmness when the possession of power opened to him a higher career. A just judge where his own authority was not questioned, he was harsh, even to cruelty, against any who resisted his will; and the soldiers, by whose aid he lorded it over the people, were permitted by him to lord it in their turn. Educated originally for the priesthood, he took no pains to conceal his contempt for superstition, if not for religion itself. He cut off Paraguay from intercourse with other countries, with a jealousy equal to that of the Chinese in former days. Thus those branches of industry that are connected with foreign traffic languished under his government; and even agriculture, with the raising of cattle, and the gathering of *maté*, or Paraguay tea, though encouraged at first, received a check at length, as no outlet was allowed to the productions of the country. After he had passed away, the Paraguayans would cast uneasy glances around if reference was made to Francia; and, still habitually dreading to pronounce his name, would designate him as *el defunto*, "the dead," instead of *el supremo*, as they had been used to style him.

It is not difficult to perceive Francia's political errors, and the despotism of his government awakens just indignation; and yet when we look at his country as presenting for so long a period a solitary exception to the scenes of violence which were witnessed among the South American republics, we are compelled to own the intellectual greatness, and even, to some extent, the usefulness of this singular man.

Among the books before us, the narrative of Dr. Rengger gives the most distinct information respecting the character of the first Dictator and his government. In the year 1819, this gentleman, with his companion, M. Longchamps, arrived in Paraguay, for purposes of scientific research. They were well

received by the Dictator, and appear to have suffered no other injury from him, during their six years' residence in his dominions, than that of not being permitted to leave them. Francia would probably have used with regard to them the excuse which he made in another similar case, that the persons detained had only shared the fate of all the inhabitants of Paraguay. Whether the complete isolation to which he condemned his country was necessary for its good may indeed be questioned, but there is no doubt that it was necessary for such a government as he had established. If he had allowed his tractable subjects to have free intercourse with the restless spirits with whom the other countries of South America were swarming, there would have been a speedy end to his despotism. In 1825, however, he received information of the recognition of the South American states by England, and at the same time was requested to permit the departure of certain English merchants. Gratified by the recognition, he acceded to the request; and gave similar permission to Messrs. Rengger and Longchamps.

Whether the rule of the Dictator became more wise and gentle in his old age, or whether the hope that his sway would soon end by the course of nature prevented violent efforts for its termination, it was only at his death, in 1840, that a change in the government took place. After the short dictatorship of Vibal, Carlos Antonio Lopez and Mariano Roque Alonzo were proclaimed consuls in 1841, and in 1844 Lopez was chosen President for ten years. He was re-elected for three, and afterwards for seven years; but before the expiration of the last of these terms, the President died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Don Francisco Solano Lopez, already in command of the army of the so-called republic.

Don Carlos Lopez relaxed in some degree the restrictions which Francia had established upon intercourse with other nations. The government, however, monopolized the foreign commerce, — its agents purchasing from the people their cattle, tobacco, and *maté*, or Paraguay tea. In Paraguay there still remains much of the spirit of the old Jesuit times. There is the same unhesitating obedience to superiors, and something of the same community of goods. The services and the prop-

erty of the citizen are taken without hesitation and without compensation when needed for the use of the state. Thus Francia, when he determined, with very questionable judgment, to straighten the streets of Assumption, ordered whom he pleased to demolish their houses, and none dared to disobey, or to claim damages for the loss. In the present war, the army of Francisco Lopez, which includes all the males above childhood, receives no pay. Two thirds of the land, we are told, belong directly to the state. The President, by the seventh article of the Constitution, exercises unlimited authority, not only in case of war, but whenever he shall deem it necessary for the maintenance of peace and public order. He has also, since 1856, the power of appointing by secret will his successor. The Congress meets once in five years, its session lasting not more than five days. The government sends to the constituencies the names of the persons whom they are to choose, and its orders are implicitly obeyed. The degree of freedom in discussion which is enjoyed may be estimated from the following statement concerning the change which gave the President power to appoint his successor: "A candid member, who had played a part in this farce, turned to one of his colleagues and remarked that he did not think it was worth while to come from so far on account of such a trifle as the reform of the Constitution. The Dictator, who was at the time presiding over the session, heard the remark, and, rising from his seat, addressed the imprudent legislator in the following terms: 'You are an insolent man and a beast; leave the room at once.' It is needless to say that the offender availed himself of the advice, and hurried away, terribly frightened."*

Such, according to authority which, though hostile, we can hardly question, is the "Republic" of Paraguay. But it is the right of an independent nation to choose and to keep the form of government it prefers, even though it be a despotism; and there is a stage of national development, such as that of Russia in the time of Peter the Great, to which many still think that despotism is the form best adapted. The want of liberty in Paraguay, therefore, would not alone justify the war in which the neighboring states have combined against it. They plead

* Paraguay and the Alliance, p. 8.

far different reasons for the course they have pursued. To judge of the validity of these, we must take a view of the history of the present ruler.

Francisco Lopez was born in 1827. At the age of eighteen he was appointed General by his father. In 1852 he was sent to Europe as Minister to the courts of England, France, and Spain, but with a view also to the purchase of war materials, and still more to the completion of the young man's education as a statesman. One result of this mission appeared in the arrival in Paraguay of foreign engineers, and the erection of important works for the defence of the country. The most formidable of these was the strong fortress of Humaitá, on the Paraguay, which defended the approach to Assumption, and threatened to control the intercourse of the Argentine Republic and other nations, not only with Paraguay, but with the regions west of the river, including Bolivia and Peru. In the pamphlet to which we have referred, the elder as well as the younger Lopez is accused of ambitious designs, looking to the establishment of an empire of the La Plata.

In the same year that the younger Lopez went to Europe, the independence of Paraguay was acknowledged by Urquiza, then in power at Buenos Ayres ; and subsequently by England. Soon after occurred the first intercourse of which we are informed, between our own country and Paraguay. Lieutenant Thomas J. Page, with his vessel, the "Water Witch," was sent to the La Plata and its branches for the purpose of scientific survey. He was well received by President Lopez ; but afterwards, in 1855, during the exploration, the vessel was fired on by the fort at Itapiru, and a man killed by the shot. This led to an expedition from the United States to demand satisfaction, which was promptly rendered.

We have now to trace the circumstances which led to the present war. This arose from political complications connected with the affairs of a region not in immediate contact with the Paraguayan territory, from questions of boundary which had been long unsettled, and especially from the ambition of the new ruler of Paraguay, at that time in the flower of his age, with a full treasury and a devoted people.

Opposite the city and state of Buenos Ayres lies a country

now known as Uruguay, but often spoken of as the Banda Oriental, — Eastern Bank, — with reference to its position on the La Plata. This region, — of which the capital is Montevideo, — though settled mostly by Spaniards, is connected by a part of its population with Brazil, which bounds it on the northeast. The position of this province fitted it to be the cause and the theatre of war between the powers by which it was bounded. In 1821, Brazil took possession of it, under the plea of protecting it from the civil commotions which followed the Declaration of Independence by Buenos Ayres. This act led, in 1826, to war between the two neighboring powers, which was ended in 1828 by a treaty, dividing the country. The northern part, called the Seven Missions, was thenceforth permanently annexed to Brazil.

In the other portion revolution succeeded revolution. A disappointed aspirant for power, Oribe, called in the aid of Rosas, the despot of Buenos Ayres. Brazil, aided by French and English vessels, took the opposite side. Oribe was defeated in 1849, his protector shortly after deposed, and the harassed land at length seemed to have found peace. This proved of short duration; but we shall pass over its intervening troubles, and come to the year 1863, when General Flores left Buenos Ayres with only three companions, boldly entered the land from which he had been expelled, like Napoleon on his return from Elba, and excited his partisans to successful revolt. On the 30th of August, 1864, while the government of Uruguay was engaged in strife with this internal foe, Brazil, by its admiral, Baron Tamandaré, called it to account for various wrongs committed in the stormy period which had preceded, as well as in the war then in progress. The Uruguayans presented counter-claims, and rejected, with more spirit than prudence, the Brazilian ultimatum. Brazil proceeded to acts of war.

The President of Uruguay sought the assistance of Francisco Lopez, who had but recently succeeded to the government of Paraguay. He offered, in return, his aid in securing to Lopez possession of the island of Martin Garcia, commanding the entrance to the branches of the La Plata. The earnest desire of Lopez to obtain this island, and his subsequent course, betray his purpose of combining into one monarchy the whole

region lying between the Uruguay, the Parana, and the Paraguay. For the accomplishment of this purpose it was necessary, not only to gain possession of Uruguay, but also to rob Brazil of its province of Matto Grosso, and the Argentine Republic of Corrientes and Entre Rios. Impelled by such ambitious dreams, Francisco Lopez, departing from that wise abstinence from foreign complications which had been the policy of his predecessors, declared to the court of Rio Janeiro that he considered the entrance of the Brazilian army into Uruguay a *casus belli*, and accompanied this declaration by hostile acts. He seized the Brazilian steamer "Marquis de Olinda," imprisoned the passengers, and at first refused to the Minister of Brazil a suitable conveyance by water to his own country. Here Mr. Washburn, Minister of the United States, energetically interfered, declaring that he would close his own legation if the rights of ambassadors were thus violated; and Lopez yielded the point. He immediately invaded the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso, whose president or governor had been detained on his way to his charge, among the passengers of the captured steamer. The Brazilians complain also that the invasion of Matto Grosso was accompanied by acts of barbarity, "without any consideration of age, sex, or helplessness; entire populations being shot down like wild beasts in the rivers and forests, as they fled from the fury of the enemy." Such is the language of the pamphlet called "The Paraguayan Question." With every allowance for exaggeration, and for the acts of soldiers transcending the orders of their government, enough remains to justify serious charges against the ruler of Paraguay.

His next step, if not more criminal, was more obviously foolish. It might have seemed that one enemy such as Brazil was enough at a time; but when the Argentine government refused to allow an attack to be made on the Brazilians through its territory, Lopez turned his arms against that power, captured two Argentine steamers, invaded the Province of Corrientes and seized its capital, which bears the same name, proclaimed the annexation of the province to Paraguay, and assumed to exercise a general control over the commerce of the La Plata and its branches. This conduct united the neighbor-

ing powers against him. Flores, supported by Brazil, was now in command in Uruguay, and on May 1, 1865, a treaty was signed between these two states and the Argentine Republic, by which the three parties bound themselves to pursue the war with Paraguay till the rule of Lopez was destroyed. Neither was to make peace separately; all disclaimed the intention of increasing their own territory or interfering with the independence of Paraguay, except in securing the expulsion of her ruler; but they agreed that the Paraguayan fortress of Humaitá should be destroyed, and that all arms and munitions of war found in that country should be divided among the contracting powers.

Such is the treaty with which commenced, more than four years ago, the alliance which still continues. The burden of the war has fallen chiefly on Brazil. Uruguay, the least powerful of the allies, has been distracted by factions, in whose strife the assassination of Flores has been the most tragic incident. The Argentine Republic also, which, under its President Mitre, shared largely in the earlier operations, has had its burden of domestic dissension to bear, and has of necessity withdrawn for the most part from the prosecution of the war; though now, under the Presidency of the enlightened Sarmiento, it may be expected to assume a position of more importance than it has recently held.

Great as was the provocation offered to the allied powers, we cannot but regard the absolute pledge, mutually given, to make the downfall of Lopez an indispensable condition of peace, an error. It is not well for individuals or for nations to renounce, except for the strongest reasons, their future freedom of action. Undoubtedly, the allies thought, four years from last May, that the overthrow of Lopez would be the work of a single campaign; for the population of Paraguay was exceeded sevenfold by that of Brazil alone. But this action of the allies united the Paraguayans to defend their chief, with whose authority, in their judgment, their own national honor and independence were identified. The allies did not take into account the difficulty of transporting men, provisions, and munitions of war to a distant country, while its defenders would fight on their own soil, with every advantage of local

knowledge and of plentiful supplies. They did not foresee that at one time the cholera would prostrate nearly a third of their army ; nor did they, probably, do justice to the military and civil talents which, with all his errors and crimes, the adversary they denounced has so strikingly displayed. In ignorance of the future, they deprived themselves of the possibility of an honorable accommodation with their enemy. Therefore it is that, even two years since, the number of lives sacrificed in this deplorable strife was estimated at a hundred thousand. Nor is the loss of life among their soldiers the only thing to be regretted by the allies. The long continuance of the contest, and the heroic defence of the Paraguayans, have made the world almost forget the original wrong, and look with admiration and pity on the hunted race, who stand so gallantly at bay. Bolivia and Chili have seen with uneasiness a member of the Spanish-American family of states in danger of being crushed by the descendants of the Portuguese ; and were it not that the conduct of Lopez towards his prisoners, his soldiers, his people, and his own family, has aroused against him the indignation of all to whom it has become known, the struggle which at first seemed so certain to end in his speedy overthrow might have resulted in the more full establishment of his power.

In 1864 the army of Paraguay is said to have numbered from 40,000 to 42,000 men. It was rapidly augmented, the enrolment including even youths of sixteen ; and Lopez commenced the war with 28,000 infantry, 16,000 cavalry, and about 3,000 artillery, with 120 pieces of cannon. The Brazilian army, in 1864, numbered but 25,000 men, and neither the Argentine Republic nor Uruguay was in a condition to add immediately to its strength. The first advantages therefore were on the side of him whose ambition had brought on the contest.

The scene of that contest may best be understood by recurring to the comparison we have already used, of the Parana and Paraguay rivers with the Ohio and the Upper Mississippi. The southwestern point of Paraguay would thus be represented by Cairo in Illinois, the country around being of the same description as Southern Illinois, low and marshy. Assumption, on

the Paraguay River, may be compared in regard to situation with Alton, the access to it being defended by the fortress of Humaitá, six leagues above the junction, commanding a bend of the river, and by that of Curupayti, somewhat nearer to the junction. Nearly opposite the southern point of Paraguay is the city of Corrientes, capital of the Argentine province of that name. The Argentine Republic, roused by the taking of this city, sent General Paunero with about 1,500 men to attempt its recovery ; but they were obliged to retreat before a superior Paraguayan force. Lopez then marched across the province of Corrientes, crossed the Uruguay into Brazil, occupied San Borja, which had been deserted by its inhabitants, and possessed himself by siege of Uruguayana. He was, however, in turn compelled to retreat ; his garrison in Uruguayana surrendered to the allies, commanded by the Emperor in person ; and the war was soon transferred to the territory of Paraguay.

The campaign of 1865 closed, not with the approach of winter, but with that of summer ; the seasons being reversed in the southern hemisphere. The allied army indeed, in December, took possession of Corrientes ; but the excessive heat, and the lowness of the rivers, prevented any further advance until the month of March, 1866 ; and meantime the army suffered severely from its position among the marshes by which the rivers are bordered. The Paraguayan army was encamped in the neighborhood of Itapiru, a strong fortress on the Parana. After several unsuccessful attempts upon this fort, accompanied with great loss to the allies, they at length obtained possession of it. The two armies now encamped among the *esteros*, or lagoons, which abound in the southern part of Paraguay, the invaders suffering from disease much more than the natives. On the 2d of May, at noon, while the forces of Brazil and Uruguay were enjoying their *siesta*, Lopez suddenly attacked them at Estero Bellaco, and at first gained an advantage ; but Flores, with great energy, succeeded in rallying his Orientals, and, with the arrival of fresh Brazilian troops, the fortune of the day was changed. A general engagement took place on the 24th of May at Tuyuti. The Paraguayan loss was the greater ; but the allies were obliged to desist from the attempt to advance on Humaitá by land, and intrenched

themselves in a new position. To quote a playful line of Moore's, which becomes sober earnest in those southern latitudes,

" June had now
Set in with all its usual rigor";

and the allies, relieved by the cold weather from the unhealthiness of the climate, waited for re-enforcements from their respective states.

It was now determined to force a passage to Assumption by the Paraguay River. It was thought that Curupayti and Humaitá were the only obstacles; but the Brazilian vessels were unexpectedly attacked by a new battery at Curuzu, still lower than these. On the 2d of September this was taken, though not without heavy loss. The next object of attack was Curupayti; but in the assault on this point, September 22d, the disadvantage of an alliance appeared in divided counsels and enfeebled authority. President Mitre, the commander-in-chief, had arranged for a combined attack, — on the west by the Brazilian squadron, on the south by his own forces and those of the Brazilian Porto Alegre, and on the east by the Brazilians under Polydoro and three hundred cavalry under Flores. But Tamandaré, fearing for his vessels, kept at a respectful distance, and Polydoro contented himself with drawing up his army in order of battle. The Argentines and the Brazilians who were with them met thus the whole force of the enemy, intrenched in his strong fortress; and as they endeavored in vain to clear away the abatis of thorny trees which had been erected by the Paraguayans, they were mowed down by the cannon. Six thousand killed and wounded — more than a third of the whole force — were left on the field. Here and there the shrubs caught fire, and the Paraguayans issued from their intrenchments to save their fallen enemies from being burnt to death.

This repulse was followed by bitter recriminations among the allies; Mitre complaining of the commanders who should have supported him, while they accused him of attempting to exercise despotic authority. Brazil, however, changed her officers; Polydoro being superseded by the veteran Marquis de Caxias, and Tamandaré by the Admiral Ignazio. Mitre was recalled, with the Argentine army, by an insurrection at

home, and the supreme command of the forces that remained devolved on the Marquis de Caxias.

But now a new enemy appeared,—the cholera. The insalubrity of the country was increased by the carelessness of the troops and their utter ignorance of sanitary precautions ; and the thousands of the slain, left unburied, contributed to corrupt the atmosphere. There were 7,500 sick at once in the three hospitals of the allies, and half of the number died. At length, thanks to the increasing coolness in April and May, 1867, “thanks also,” it is added, “to the zeal and charity of the Capuchin fathers,” they were delivered from this plague ; when they found another obstacle in the rise of the rivers. For sixteen years the Parana and the Paraguay had not reached so great a height. The Brazilians encamped around Curuzu were obliged to crowd into the fort, which itself was besieged by the rising waters and exposed to a cannonade from Curupayti. Curuzu was at length abandoned with great loss ; and with its abandonment ceased all communication between the camp at Tuyuti and the Paraguay River.

The Brazilian army was with difficulty recruited, principally by the enlistment of slaves. The Argentine government sent 4,000 regular soldiers, and 400 convicts from the prisons of Buenos Ayres. Caxias now attempted, and with great labor executed, a change of base, intending to attack Humaitá. By marching far into the interior, he came upon that fortress with little opposition, but not until the length of his journey had given his enemy ample time for preparation. Before anything could be effected, the arrival of President Mitre caused, according to the terms of the treaty, a change in the command. The army, mainly Brazilian, received its Argentine commander with an ill grace. Officers sent in their resignations ; a land attack on Humaitá appeared impracticable ; and although the new camp was better situated than that at Tuyuti, the cholera again made its appearance about the end of September.

During these events the fleet had not been idle. It succeeded in passing Curupayti, though it suffered considerable damage from the fire of the fortress ; but with reduced strength it was now shut in between Curupayti and Humaitá, and apparently was not in a condition either to advance or retreat.

Meantime the United States had by its ministers offered its mediation, which was rejected. An attempt was now made in the direction of peace, and Mr. Gould, secretary of the British embassy at Buenos Ayres, visited the head-quarters of Lopez, and conveyed to him the proposals of the allies. These were highly favorable to Paraguay so far as they related to its independence, its boundaries, and the mutual restoration of prisoners; but, compelled by their treaty, the allies demanded that Lopez should, immediately on the conclusion of peace, depart for Europe. Another requirement was that of secrecy in regard to the conditions of the treaty. It would have been a noble act if the Marshal President had been willing to sacrifice his power for the good of the country; but the demand was made at a time when it seemed not justified by the state of affairs. The fleet of his enemies appeared to be entrapped between two forts, and their army separated by a wide desert from the river, on which for six hundred miles their supplies must be transported from Buenos Ayres. He rejected the proposal in a reply in which the real strength of his reasons was obscured by the vanity with which they were expressed.

An expedition against Paraguay from the north had met with no better success than the attacks on the south. A Brazilian force of about two thousand men was collected in September, 1866, at the village of Miranda in Brazil, to the north of Paraguay. Thence, in the following February, they marched, under Colonel Camisão, to enter the country between the rivers by which it was bounded. Their march was through a country deserted except by the cavalry of the enemy, who never offered regular battle, but harassed them constantly, till, worn out with fatigue, hunger, and disease, the remnant were glad to reach again their own frontier. Another force, under Senhor Magalhães, retook the fortress of Corumba, which the Paraguayans had occupied since the beginning of the war; but were by the appearance of some Paraguayan steamers obliged to leave it.

In Paraguay the enthusiasm of the people grew with their dangers and their successes. Patriotic gifts poured in from every side for the supply of the army. Among other marks of public spirit, the ladies of Assumption determined to give their

jewels of gold and silver to the cause of their country, and the example was followed far and wide. Brooches and ear-rings came in, we are told, by bushels; and the patronesses of the undertaking made a public offering of this treasure. President Lopez, however, accepted only one twentieth part, to be used for a new gold coinage, to commemorate the patriotism of the ladies of Paraguay. Such is the account given in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. An eye-witness, however, who looked on the Paraguayan cause less favorably, tells us that the whole matter was ordered by the government.

But the fortune of war was now to change. On the resumption of hostilities, advantage after advantage was gained by the allies. The town of Pilar, taken by them September 20th, they were indeed compelled to abandon; but the engagements at Potrero Ovella, October 27th, and at Tayi, November 2d, opened to them the way to the land side of Humaitá. November 3d, the Paraguayans attacked the camp of Porto Alegre at Tuyuti, obtained temporary possession of it, and destroyed much of the army stores, but were driven back after a severe action, in which that Brazilian general distinguished himself by his personal bravery. With these events the campaign of 1867 closed.

That of the following year commenced with an achievement of great importance. An attack was made on the outworks of Humaitá by the land force, at the same time that the Brazilian iron-clads attempted to force a passage. The undertaking succeeded both by land and water. The vessels passed the fort beneath a storm of balls from the heaviest artillery, and Fort Establicimiento, an important outwork of Humaitá, was taken.

The next event to be noted is a political crime in the turbulent Oriental Republic. The despatch of the American Minister to Brazil, which relates it, conveys an idea of the critical condition of affairs at that period of the war:—

“A revolution has broken out in the Republic of Uruguay, and General Flores, the Dictator, who had just abdicated in order that a president might be elected by the people, was assassinated in the streets by the leaders of the Blanco party. The outrage was followed by the slaying of one hundred and

eighty of the Blancos ; and thereupon order was restored in the city of Montevideo, where the Blancos are in a minority. In the country, however, they are in a large majority ; and it would be idle to predict the final termination of this proceeding. The success of the allies against Lopez will go far towards restoring order in Uruguay. That success was most timely. Had it been delayed another three weeks at furthest, both Uruguay and the Argentine Republics would have withdrawn from the alliance with Brazil." (Mr. Webb to Mr. Seward, March 9, 1868, in Senate Doc. No. 5, p. 35.)

No action of great importance appears to have taken place, from the successes near Humaitá until the month of August. Then, after some engagements, seemingly unfavorable to the allies, it was discovered by them, on the 25th, that Humaitá had been evacuated, and possession was taken of it, with great rejoicing at the capitals of the allies. The taking of Humaitá was followed by other successes. Assumption at length fell into the hands of the allies. Lopez retreated to the interior of the country, where, defended by mountains and morasses, he still offers resistance.

Recently the chief management of the war has passed into new hands. The Marquis de Caxias has been succeeded by the Count d'Eu, — Gaston d'Orléans, eldest son of the Duke de Nemours, and grandson of King Louis Philippe. This prince, who is about twenty-six years of age, is the husband of the Princess Isabella of Brazil, eldest daughter of the Emperor, and heiress presumptive to the crown. The Count embarked from Rio Janeiro for the seat of war on the 30th of March of the present year. Since his arrival, the allied army has advanced up the country, cutting off the Paraguayan leader from the valley of the Tebicuari and the fertile plains of the South. A correspondence, conducted with formal courtesy on both sides, has taken place between the Prince and the President, occasioned by the use of the Paraguayan flag in the Brazilian camp, where it was displayed by a native legion in the service of the allies. Lopez complains of this, and threatens to requite it by executing the prisoners of war who may be in his power. The Count d'Eu defends his use of the flag on the ground that the allies are fighting, not against

Paraguay, but its ruler. According to recent information, Lopez has been prevented from carrying out his threat by a noble protest on the part of Mr. McMahon, the Minister of the United States. ("The Standard," Buenos Ayres, June 11th.)

During the month of May of the present year, General Mena Barreto, or O'Barrett, an officer of Irish descent in the Brazilian service, advanced into the interior, and brought back with him a number of Paraguayan families, amounting to about twelve hundred persons, mostly women and children. On his return through a dangerous defile, Barreto was attacked by the Paraguayans, whose artillery was posted on the hills around. The families under his charge were between two fires, and hundreds perished. The Brazilians succeeded at length in driving off their assailants and resuming their march toward the river.

In the course of events upon the La Plata and its tributaries, during the last few years, questions have sometimes arisen between the various governments there and the representatives of the United States. The documents relating to these questions, which we have had occasion to examine, occupy more than four hundred pages. The representatives of our country to whom they chiefly refer are the late General Asboth, Minister to the Argentine Republic, Mr. James Watson Webb, Minister to Brazil, and Mr. Charles A. Washburn, Minister to Paraguay. These gentlemen, by direction of the State Department, repeatedly endeavored to bring about a termination of the war; but their efforts were entirely unsuccessful, and the Argentine Republic even entered a formal complaint against General Asboth, alleging that he had, in his correspondence, "thought it proper to enter into appreciations with regard to the war, to home politics, to the state of public opinion and of the finances of the country, which, he ought to have supposed, had been duly studied and taken into consideration by the Argentine government." To this Mr. Seward very properly replied, "that it is difficult to conduct a correspondence of mediation between belligerents without inadvertently giving offence to one or other of the parties, and that, considering that every care has been taken by the United States government to avoid misapprehension, the Secretary of State begs to be excused from entering unnecessarily into collateral discussion." Mr. Asboth was in-

formed that his conduct was approved, but a word of caution was added against any expression that should give cause of offence to an independent government.

Mr. Webb, our Minister to Brazil, appears often in these documents, in consequence of the difficulty interposed by the allied fleet to the free passage of the rivers Parana and Paraguay. He twice had occasion to demand energetically of the Brazilian government that it should permit a United States vessel of war to pass through the attacking fleet for the purpose of conveying our Minister, Mr. Washburn, to and from the Paraguayan capital. The Brazilians, with some apparent reason, objected to the demand, but it was, in both instances, at length complied with. Subsequently, when two persons connected with the American legation in Paraguay had been forcibly detained by Lopez, Mr. Webb urged upon Admiral Davis an immediate resort to force to procure their release, with an earnestness which, though prompted by honorable motives, went beyond the bounds of customary intercourse between co-ordinate branches of the public service, and drew from the Admiral a reply briefly declining further correspondence. Admiral Davis afterwards, however, under instructions from the Navy Department, repaired to Assumption, and procured the liberation of the persons detained.

It is, however, the correspondence of Mr. Washburn, our late Minister to Paraguay, which presents the most important questions, and sheds most light upon the state of affairs in the country to which he was accredited. We have seen this gentleman coming forward in a manner suitable to the high trust committed to him, to defend against the despot of Paraguay the rights of the Brazilian Minister. We find him afterwards, with the same boldness, giving to oppressed foreigners in Assumption the protection of his flag, the most marked case being that of the acting consul of Portugal, Mr. Leite Pereira, who found an asylum beneath the roof of the American Minister till he voluntarily withdrew from it; and we find him inflexibly asserting the immunities of his embassy for the two persons already alluded to, Messrs. Bliss and Masterman. In the long and excited correspondence on this subject, between the Minister and Señor Benitez, the Paraguayan Secretary of

State, the charge was made, that, together with Bliss and Masterman, Mr. Washburn himself was engaged in a conspiracy against President Lopez. The President's own brothers, his brothers-in-law, and his former minister, Señor Berges, were also implicated. Confessions of some of the accused were produced, to the effect that Mr. Washburn was one of the most active members of the conspiracy, and conducted, through the facilities he possessed as Minister, their communications with the Marquis de Caxias, the Brazilian commander. The assassination of Lopez, it was asserted, entered into the plan, and the American Minister had already received large sums of money, and was to be yet more fully rewarded for his perfidy. What is most extraordinary, Bliss and Masterman themselves, who were arrested by order of Lopez while on their way to embark with Mr. Washburn, finding themselves unprotected in the power of the Paraguayan chief, accused the American Minister, and admitted their own parts in the alleged conspiracy, in testimony given at great length. These statements they afterwards declared to be true in the presence of two American officers, but in the presence also of their Paraguayan jailers, who had not yet transferred them to the protection of the United States. They were also compelled to write letters to friends abroad, to the same effect, admitting their guilt, and expressing the hope that their lives would be spared by President Lopez. It is not surprising that, on these statements of their own, they were received on board the United States squadron rather as prisoners than as guests, although their condition was at length improved by order of the Admiral. On their arrival in this country they submitted a memorial to Congress, relating the circumstances of compulsion under which their self-accusing statements had been made, utterly denying the truth of those statements with regard to themselves and to Mr. Washburn, and complaining of their treatment by the naval officers of the United States.

Mr. Bliss, in this memorial, uses the following language : —

“ Suffice it to say that when the repeated application of torture had forced us to subscribe to confessions of our guilt and accusations of Mr. Washburn as the head of a vast conspiracy, we were called upon to put into narrative form these fictitious depositions, which were then pub-

lished as pamphlets by order of Lopez. These pamphlets were written by us while in irons and suffering the same barbarous treatment previously referred to, under the constant direction, supervision, and censorship of one or all of the three priests who constituted the inquisitorial tribunal of Lopez; two of them being *fiscales*, or prosecuting attorneys, and the third *escribano*, or secretary. There was in that so-called tribunal neither judge nor jury, neither counsel nor citation of witnesses for the accused, nor any possible means of defence; nor was any body of laws recognized as authority; and this singular organization was supplemented by an officer whose special duty it was to superintend the application of torture. He also took an active part, in my own case, in keeping watch over the progress of my pamphlet."

Mr. Bliss then states the circumstances under which he was induced to assert before American officers the truth of that account which he now declares to have been false:—

"I had no suspicion of the presence of any other American vessel in Paraguayan waters than the "*Wasp*," which I was given to understand had come to bring the new Minister to his post. Nothing was said to me of the presence of the Admiral, much less of any demand having been made upon Marshal Lopez for the delivery of our persons, which was represented as being a gracious act of clemency conditional upon our conduct in answering the expectations of our judges. The naval officers alluded to chatted familiarly, smoking and jesting with the other members of this special tribunal, which comprised at this time two Paraguayan officers who spoke English, and the head torturer, who sat directly opposite me, sword in hand, with his warning and menacing gaze riveted upon me. The depositions extorted from me, as heretofore stated, were then read over, occupying nearly or quite four hours in the process, and I was called upon to acknowledge my signatures and to reaffirm my confessions, which were thereupon certified to by the naval officers along with the priests,—the torturer and other witnesses present adding their own signatures. Not a word was said to me by these officers except to ask me my name in a rude manner, and to say, '*Speak in English*,' when I recognized my signature for the first time."

Messrs. Bliss and Masterman also state that, when they were forcibly separated from Mr. Washburn, that gentleman told them they might say anything about him which they found necessary for their own safety, as it would not be believed by any one except in Paraguay.

The statement of Mr. Masterman with regard to the tortures he underwent and witnessed is too long for insertion, but we present the following extracts : —

“ Without food, and only a single draught of dirty water, I lay on the ground in a state of utter prostration until sunset, when I was ordered to present myself before the tribunal. I walked there, a distance of about half a mile, painfully and feebly, in my heavy irons, the soldier who guarded me thrashing me savagely all the way with a stick, and twice knocking me down, because I could not move faster. Within a copse of trees I found Captain Falcon and a priest ; the former said in Spanish, ‘ Ah, we have got you at last ! Come, now, confess that you are a conspirator ; that Washburn is the chief of the plot, and that you took refuge in the legation in order to conspire against the supreme government,’ or words to that effect. . . . I replied that I knew nothing of any conspiracy, otherwise than from the depositions of Don Benigno, Carreras, and others, which had been sent from the foreign office to Mr. Washburn, and read aloud to us ; that I had not in any sense taken refuge in the legation ; that I was perfectly innocent of any designs against the government, and firmly believed that Mr. Washburn was also so. He listened to me impatiently, and said in a loud, menacing voice, ‘ Then you will not confess ; I will see if I can make you.’ He called two men, told them to take me outside and apply the *potro*, — literally the rack, but used by him in the sense of torture in general. I silently prayed, while they were getting ready, that help and strength might be given me to bear it unflinchingly, but I had been greatly reduced by ill health and the weary anxiety of the past three months, and feared that in spite of my determination to do my duty as a man and a Christian, I should be soon compelled to give in. At last I was bound hand and foot, and they applied the *cépo uruguayana*, which I need not describe here. The pain was very severe, but I endured it in silence ; the priest meanwhile, in a loud voice, exhorting me to confess and save my life, and perhaps gain honor and rewards from the ‘ merciful and generous Marshal Lopez.’ After a time, which seemed very long to me, I was unbound, and in a few minutes tied up again with the added weight of a third musket ; my lips were badly cut against my teeth, and the blood nearly choked me ; and when the thongs were tightened I fainted from the pain. I was lying on the ground when I recovered consciousness, so exhausted that I felt that I could hold out no longer, preferring death as a confessed conspirator to the repetition of such terrible suffering.”

“ The negro was tortured for a long time, as his shrieks and cries of

‘No sé nada,’ and prayers for mercy, which I plainly heard, made evident to me; for he, poor fellow, had no idea of the charges against his master and the rest, and could not save himself by lying, if he would.”

“I managed to speak, unobserved, to Dr. Carreras. He said, ‘Has Mr. Washburn gone?’ I replied ‘Yes,’ and added, ‘How could you tell such falsehoods about him?’ He removed some dirty rags from his hands, and showed me that the first joints of his fingers had been crushed and were still suppurating. He had also a deep, unhealthy-looking wound extending across his nose. He held out his mangled hands and said, ‘That terrible Father Maiz tortured me on three successive days, and then crushed my fingers with a hammer, as you see. Have you confessed?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied, sadly. ‘You have done well; God help us!’ While we were resting I managed to speak to him again, and asked him how much money he had said in his depositions he had received. He told me \$15,000, and added, ‘Lies, lies, all lies!’”

“Before starting, Mr. Bliss and myself were temporarily removed to a hill-top, where we found Don Venancio and Don Benigno Lopez, Don Gumesindo Benitez (the latter two in irons), Don José Berges, Captain Fidanza, Doctor Carreras, and Señor Leite Pereira. An immense crowd of prisoners accompanied us on the march, and I witnessed such scenes of horrible cruelty during that terrible journey that I feel no description can picture them. It must be remembered that nearly all the prisoners were fettered; that the road was rough and hilly, and the heat suffocating. I saw feeble old men, sinking under the weight of their irons, flogged with sticks, or cut down remorselessly by the swords of the officers, if they did not move fast enough. I saw tender women, belonging to the best families in Paraguay, toiling onward, barefoot and in fetters, and exposed to every indignity. I saw an officer stamping on the head of a tall, gentle-looking old man, who had fainted from exhaustion, till his white hair was dabbled with blood. And I saw others, too fatigued to stand, dragged along by their feet, and then thrown, covered with blood and dust, into the carretas.”

“On the 23d of September I saw Don Benigno, the younger brother of Lopez, put to the torture, and on the 27th, Dr. Carreras and Señor Benitez led out to execution.”

The accounts given by Messrs. Bliss and Masterman of the tyranny of Lopez receive melancholy confirmation from the pamphlet published by order of the Argentine government, and

entitled "Papers of the Tyrant of Paraguay, taken by the Allies in the Assault of December 27th, 1868." Besides these papers, it contains the testimony of numerous Paraguayan officers, prisoners of war, as well as introductory and closing portions by the Argentine authorities.

Of the stern discipline of the Paraguayan armies an illustration is given in a decree taken from an order-book of Lopez, that whenever a soldier deserted, his two immediate comrades, (*costados*) should receive each twenty-five blows, the corporal forty, and the sergeant fifty. It is supposed that now the punishment is still heavier; for a deserter lately exclaimed with a sigh, "My two poor comrades! they have shot them by this time!"

The first Paraguayan document published is a letter to Lopez from the former Vice-President, Sanchez, in which the latter, at eighty years of age, endeavors to exculpate himself from the charge of having been under the influence of Don Benigno Lopez, who was suspected of conspiring against his brother. The exculpation was vain. The body of the aged statesman was found in the ditch where it had been thrown, riddled with balls and disfigured by torture.

Colonel Martinez, who formerly commanded the outworks of Humaitá, testifies that, having capitulated to the allied army, and thus become a prisoner of war, he has heard since, from other prisoners, of the cruel treatment, and finally of the execution, of his wife, by order of Lopez, although she was nearly related to the tyrant. Colonel Martinez gives instances of the execution of soldiers by Lopez without trial. This was the fate of Lieutenant Ybañez, a brave officer, for saying that the enemy were strongly intrenched, which Lopez interpreted as cowardice. This account of his severe treatment of his own soldiers is confirmed by many of the papers which are published. A system of espionage prevailed throughout the army, and the malicious accusation of a superior by an inferior might subject the person accused to degrading if not to capital punishment. Other papers show the absolute command of the government over the families of its people. Nine hundred women, and afterwards eight hundred more, are ordered to be sent beyond the mountains and employed in agriculture.

The most remarkable of these captured documents, however, is the Diary of General Resquin, a journal of the disposition made of prisoners under his charge at the camp of San Fernando, from May 31st to December 14th, 1868. Of these "tables of blood" the result is that four hundred and thirty-two were shot (*pasados por las armas*), five bayoneted, one lanced; one hundred and sixty-seven died in prison; two hundred and sixteen were taken out to work in the trenches; two (Bliss and Masterman) sent beyond the territory; one sent up to the capital; and ten released. Of the victims, most are spoken of as traitors, but many are named as prisoners of war. Of those shot, two hundred and eighty-nine were Paraguayans, one hundred and seventeen foreigners from various countries, and twenty-six without local designation. In this list appears the name of Gumesindo Benitez, the Minister through whom the charge of conspiracy was made against Mr. Washburn; and on the same day was executed Dr. Carreras, whose testimony, procured by torture, Benitez had used in that correspondence. Among the few released is the name of Venancio Lopez, one of the brothers of the President. The remaining brother, Benigno, was less fortunate. According to the testimony of many witnesses, he was put to death, as were the two brothers-in-law of the despot, General Barrios and the Treasurer, Saturnino Bedoya, and the Minister Berges, who preceded Benitez in the office of Foreign Affairs.

But we must hasten on. Passing over the accounts of many other witnesses, we find the most complete development of the systematic barbarity of Lopez in that of Captain Matias Goiburú, himself an agent in the cruelties he describes. If this fact should create suspicion, his evidence is confirmed by that of Don Bartolomé Quintanilla, Don Teodoro Sanchez, and other witnesses. Goiburú declares "that in the combat of November 3, at Tuyuti, there were taken from two to three hundred prisoners, of whom more than one hundred were tied up and whipped with the doubled lasso, and forty or fifty shot," under pretence of an attempt to communicate with the Brazilian General, Porto Alegre.

"He knew these things because he, the same affirmant, had been charged with the custody of these unfortunates, and more than once

with heavy grief of his heart he had to witness and even to order punishments which humanity and civilization condemn."

"That the treatment received by the prisoners in the times later than that which has been mentioned has become continually more cruel and barbarous, and that in proportion as the position of Lopez has become more difficult, he has multiplied the punishments and diminished the food of the prisoners and of those in charge of them. That when Lopez abandoned Humaitá, the officers who guarded the prisoners had orders to shoot any who should yield to exhaustion during the march, and that it was certain that upon the marches made from San Fernando to Lomas there were shot or lanced various persons who had the misfortune not to be able to keep up, oppressed with misery by sufferings and by illness."

He gives a long list of persons of various countries who were put to death or who died of their sufferings. He says that there were many others whose names he did not know, "and that thus have perished all the prisoners of war from the allied army." He knows all this because he has himself been fiscal (accuser or examiner) in various causes, and he declares that the fiscals worked under the iron pressure of Lopez, having always at their side especial inspectors who directed them what they were to do. Of those executed, he asserts, the property was confiscated by Lopez.

"With very rare exceptions, Lopez has sacrificed the best and most respectable part of the population of Paraguay. Sometimes he went through the forms of a trial, from which resulted what he desired; but he almost always scourged or shot eminent persons without form of judgment. Of his own family he shot his brother Benigno and his two brothers-in-law Barrios and Bedoya, and, in fine, this monster would have exterminated all the inhabitants of Paraguay, if time had been given him to effect it."

He testifies that Doña Juliana Isfran de Martinez was taken to the capital and tried before Captain José Falcon and Manuel Maciel. She was told that Padré Barrios and Dr. Cespedes had testified against her, and was asked what her husband had said to her respecting the conspiracy. She replied that he had said nothing on the subject; that her husband was incapable of treason, and of doing anything contrary to the laws of honor. Lopez, who interfered personally in all such cases, commanded her to be scourged to make her confess. As this

barbarity did not subdue her, he repeated it, and then ordered the torture of the *cepo colombiano*. The poor lady exclaimed that she was innocent, and begged them to put her to death; but Lopez ordered her to be told that, if she did not confess, she should die under the torture, and that this was the chastisement to which her obstinacy was entitled. The witness declares that he received orders from Lopez to treat her with the most revolting cruelty, — orders which he was obliged to fulfil in part, yet softened as much as possible, with great danger to himself; but that Lopez removed the lady to the charge of another person, before whose cruelty he supposed that her firmness at length gave way, and she confessed all that was required, for she was soon after executed, and her last tormentor was rewarded with promotion.

Two other names are given of women who were put to death; of one of whom the following is related: —

Leite Pereira, Vice-Consul of Portugal, — the same who had been for a time protected by Mr. Washburn, — was compelled by torture to accuse Doña Dolores Recalde of having aided in conducting the correspondence among the revolutionists. Afterwards, his death approaching, he was compelled by conscience to recant, and ask her pardon for the wrong he had done her. “This girl, whose sufferings and bravery had moved all who knew her situation, refused to pardon what she called the infamous cowardice of Leite Pereira, and, borne down by the declarations he had made, she was executed without pity.”

Mr. Washburn himself, it may readily be supposed, speaks in no measured language of the despot from whose power he escaped with difficulty. The following are extracts from his letter to Mr. Seward, dated at Buenos Ayres, September 26, 1868: —

“I have been completely run down by people who have come to inquire of me in regard to their friends in Paraguay. I regret that I have but one answer for them all: ‘Lopez has killed your friends, or holds them in prison, loaded with fetters.’ I fear, too, that none of them will escape with their lives.”

“I am confident there has never been any conspiracy, for I do not believe that under the system of espionage that prevails in Paraguay, and the universal distrust that everybody has for everybody else, there are three men in the country so foolhardy as to engage in anything of

the kind. Lopez, however, in his policy of extermination, and of leaving no one to testify against him, has declared that there is, and seems to imagine that confessions extorted by torture will justify him before the world in executing those who have made them ; or, rather, those whom he declares to have made them."

In the "*Correspondencia Diplomatica*" we have, at greater length than in our Congressional documents, Mr. Washburn's letter to Mr. Stewart, the British Minister at Buenos Ayres. It contains the following passage referring to Lopez : —

"He succeeds entirely by means of fear ; and, with the exception of a few who lend themselves to be voluntarily the agents of his cruelties, such as his mistress, his bishop, Luis Caminos, Sanabria, and a few others, who have shown great ardor in executing his sanguinary projects, there is not a man, woman, or child, not even excepting his mother, sister, or brothers, who would not give thanks to God if he would take him to another world, where his actions would receive a more adequate recompense."

Mr. Washburn goes on to account for the readiness of the Paraguayans to face death in battle by their fear of their tyrant. The second line, he says, he orders to shoot down every soldier that attempts flight or desertion ; and if they neglect this duty a similar fate awaits themselves.

According to Dr. Stewart, an English physician, and surgeon in the army of Lopez, the names given in the order-book do not by any means cover the numbers who have perished by the cruelty of that despot. Of the 600,000 inhabitants of Paraguay, he says only about 80,000 are left, of whom 40,000 are women and children ; and that 180,000 males have perished.

President Sarmiento writes : —

"Lopez has killed all his prisoners, either by execution, starvation, or torture ; among these were his own Cabinet Ministers, the bishop of Assumption (tortured and then murdered), the wives of all whom he could not capture ; foreign, native, and Argentine merchants, and the husbands of two of his sisters. The details of these acts and the manner of execution make one shudder with horror. He sent for his sisters to come to his camp, and after having instructed them what to say, their husbands were called in. 'Do you know this man?' asked Lopez of one of his sisters. 'No, I do not know him.' The drama concluded by the husbands being shot in the presence of their wives!"

The withdrawal of Mr. Washburn was soon followed by the arrival of his successor, Mr. McMahon. This gentleman reached Paraguay early in last December, by the same vessel which brought away Messrs. Bliss and Masterman. Mr. McMahon may have believed the story of a conspiracy, which those unfortunate men confirmed in the presence of our naval officers; or he may have thought it best, now that their freedom had been secured, not to enter into any questions respecting the past. He remained near the Paraguayan government when the successes of the allies compelled its removal from the coast; and the story was circulated in Buenos Ayres that Lopez had by will appointed the American Minister guardian of his illegitimate children. Among the entertainments of the carnival in that city was a tableau in which derisive allusion was made to this rumor. The interference of Mr. McMahon to secure the safety of Argentine and Brazilian prisoners is the best answer to this insult.

Among the first acts of the administration of General Grant was the recall of Mr. McMahon. It attracted notice that this was issued during the few days when Mr. E. B. Washburn, brother of the former Minister to Paraguay, held the office of Secretary of State; and an unworthy motive has been by implication ascribed to that gentleman. But there were reasons enough for the withdrawal of our Minister from Paraguay, when there were no longer North American interests to defend, and when the presence of such a Minister could but give protection to a tyrant among whose recent acts had been the torture of two members of the American legation.

We have been personally assured by one who escaped from the power of Lopez that his government before the war, though despotic, was not sanguinary. We learn from the same source that in the early period of the struggle the Paraguayans were full of enthusiasm for their Marshal President, who then seemed entering on a career of conquest. As reverses came, and the rash enterprise which ambition had prompted threatened ruin, it would seem that the tiger awoke in the heart of the baffled invader. He first showed his rage in the treatment of his prisoners, and of some of his own officers, — General Robles, for instance, who was shot by his order for retreating from Corrientes.

Afterwards, as the war continued with its incalculable losses and miseries, while by the manifesto of the allies it appeared that the removal of Lopez would restore peace, we cannot wonder if among the chief men of the nation a plan was formed, probably to compel his abdication in favor of one of his brothers. The discovery of this conspiracy, if it deserves that name, excited the despot to the most violent measures ; and, according to the testimony of many witnesses, numbers of people of the highest rank, including his own brother, fell victims to his revenge and fear. This supposition appears to us more probable than that the conspiracy was a mere fiction of Lopez himself, invented that he might enrich himself with the spoils of victims whom he knew to be innocent.

According to accounts just received, a provisional government for Paraguay has been established at Assumption, under the protection of the allies, and their forces are advancing successfully. Other accounts, however, represent the Paraguayans as still strong in their mountain fastnesses, and in control of a fertile country, which will afford them ample means of support through a prolonged resistance. For this brave and unfortunate people we feel pity and respect ; and we deplore the continuance of the war, not only on their account, but also in the interest of the neighboring nations, — of Brazil, where the designs of its benevolent Emperor for the abolition of slavery are thus greatly impeded ; of Uruguay, which ought at length to find rest from those commotions which have marked its unhappy history ; and of the Argentine Republic, which has wisely chosen for its guide a chief enlightened by the best influences of Europe and of the United States. But the contest must now go on, and our hope is that it may soon terminate in the overthrow of Lopez. To this result, wisely or not, three nations have pledged their honor ; and with every allowance which can possibly be made for exaggeration and falsehood in the charges against the President of Paraguay, we must regard him as guilty of kindling, from ambitious motives, the war which now rages around him ; and as identified with a system of terror, espionage, and torture, the more revolting because it falsely claims the name of republican.

S. G. BULFINCH.